CASE AGAINST STEELE

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THE

CASE

OF

Richard Steele, Esq;

BEING AN

IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

Against Him.

In a Letter to a FRIEND.

LONDON:

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THE CASE OF *Richard Steele*, Esq;

In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

ACcording to your Desire, I here send you all that can at present be Collected relating to the Case of Mr. *Steele*.

The Parliament, after several Prorogations, met on *Feb.* 16. $17\frac{14}{15}$. and propos'd Sir *Thomas Hanmer* for their Speaker; upon which Mr. *Steele* stood up in his Place, and spoke to this effect:

" At the Close of the last Session of " Parliament, her Majesty was graciously " pleas'd to declare from the Throne, " that the late rejected Bill of Commerce " between *Great Britain* and *France*, " should be offer'd to this House.

" That Declaration was certainly made, " that every Gentleman who shou'd have " the Honour to be return'd hither, might " make himself Master of that Important " Question.

" It is Demonstration That was a most " Pernicious Bill, and no Man can have " so great Merit to this Nation at this " time, as his, by whose Weight and " Authority that Pernicious Bill was " thrown out.

" I rise up to do him Honour in some " measure, and distinguish my self, by " saying, *I wish him our Speaker for that* " *his inestimable Service to his Country.*

What Mr. *Steele* said upon this Occasion was variously censur'd; however, that worthy Gentleman was unanimously chosen Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.

March

March 3*d*, A Petition was lodged againſt Mr. *Steele*, by *James* Earl of *Barrymore* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Sir *Richard Vernon*, Baronet, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Burrough of *Stockbridge* in the County of *Southampton*.

March 12. A Complaint was made to the Houſe of Three printed Pamphlets; 1. *The Engliſhman*, *from Saturday*, January 16, *to Tueſday*, January 19. 17$\frac{1}{4}$. wherein is a Letter to the *Engliſhman*, to which is ſubſcrib'd the Name *Richard Steele*. 2. The *Criſis*; in the Title-Page whereof it is ſaid, By *Richard Steele*, Eſq; 3. *The Engliſhman*, *being the Cloſe of the Paper ſo called*; in the Title Page whereof it is alſo ſaid, By *Richard Steele*, Eſq;

Theſe Pamphlets were cenſur'd, as containing ſeveral Paragraphs tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon her Majeſty, and arraigning her Adminiſtration and Government. The ſaid Pamphlets were brought up to the Table, and it was order'd, That *Richard Steele*, Eſq; (a Member of the Houſe) ſhould attend in his Place the next Morning.

March

March. 13. Mr. *Steele* attended in his Place (according to Order) when ſeveral Paragraphs in his Pamphlets were read, and he deſir'd Time till Thurſday the 18*th*, to be heard touching the ſame.

March 15. Mr. *Steele* made a Motion for Addreſſing her Majeſty, That ſhe would be pleas'd to give Directions, That the ſeveral Repreſentations, Orders and Inſtructions, relating to the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, be laid before the Houſe.

The previous Queſtion was put, and upon a Diviſion carried in the Negative, 214 againſt 109.

The ſame Day came out the Lords Addreſs to her Majeſty, dated the 11*th* inſtant, as follows: *viz.*

The Humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

" WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful
" and Loyal Subjects, the Lords
" Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament
" Aſſembled, beg Leave humbly to Re-
" preſent

" preſent to Your Majeſty, That we have
" begun our Endeavours to ſuppreſs Se-
" ditious Papers (which Your Majeſty
" was pleaſed to take Notice of in Your
" moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne)
" by Applying our ſelves to Diſcover the
" Author, Printer, and Publiſher of a
" Pamphlet, Intituled, *The Publick Spirit*
" *of the Whigs, ſet forth in their Generous*
" *Encouragement of the Author of the* Criſis,
" *with ſome Obſervations on the Seaſonable-*
" *neſs, Candor, Erudition, and Style of that*
" *Treatiſe.* London, *Printed for* John
" Morphew *near* Stationers Hall. 1714.
" Which we conceive to be a Falſe, Ma-
" licious, and Factious Libel, highly diſ-
" honourable and ſcandalous to Your Sub-
" jects of *Scotland*, tending to the De-
" ſtruction of the Conſtitution, and (by
" making falſe and unjuſt Reflections up-
" on the Union, and the Steps and Motives
" to it) moſt injurious to Your Majeſty,
" who have been pleaſed often to Declare
" from the Throne, That the Union of
" the Two Kingdoms is the peculiar Hap-
" pineſs of Your Reign, in making a full
" Proviſion for the Peace and Quiet of
" Your People, and the Security of our
" Religion, by ſo firm an Eſtabliſhment
" of the Proteſtant Succeſſion throughout

" *Great*

" *Great Britain* : It appeared to us, by " the Confeſſion of the ſaid *John Mor-* " *phew* at our Bar, that he Publiſhed, Sold " and Diſperſed that Libel ; and by the " Examination of ſeveral Witneſſes on " Oath, That the ſame was Printed by " *John Barber*, a Printer, who at the " time of the Printing the ſaid ſeditious " Libel, was and yet is intruſted with " Printing the *Gazette* ; but the ſaid *John* " *Barber*, in his Examination, inſiſting " not to anſwer any Queſtions, the An- " ſwer to which might tend to accuſe " himſelf, or to corroborate the Accuſa- " tion againſt him, we have not as yet " been able to diſcover the Author of the " ſaid Libel, or who brought the written " Copy thereof to be printed. And there- " fore that nothing may be wanting on " our Parts towards the Diſcovering and " Puniſhing ſo great a Criminal, as we " take the Author of the ſaid Libel to be, " we do moſt humbly beſeech Your Ma- " jeſty, That Your Majeſty will be gra- " ciouſly pleaſed to iſſue Your Royal Pro- " clamation, with a Promiſe therein of " ſuch a Reward, as Your Majeſty ſhall, " in Your Royal Wiſdom, think fit, to " any Perſon who ſhall diſcover and make " due Proof againſt the Author or Au-

" thors

" thors of the ſaid Libel: As alſo Your " Majeſty's moſt Gracious Pardon to ſuch " Perſon or Perſons as ſhall make ſuch " Diſcovery, of all Crimes and Miſde- " meanors committed in relation to the " Printing, Publiſhing and Diſperſing " the ſaid Libel.

To which Addreſs Her Majeſty was pleas'd to Anſwer:

My Lords,

I Thank you for the Concern you ſhew for Suppreſſing all Seditious Libels: And have given Order for a Proclamation according as is deſired.

March 16. This Day Her Majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleas'd to iſſue out her Royal Proclamation, *That if any Perſon ſhall diſcover, and make due Proof againſt the Author or Authors of the ſaid Libel, ſuch Perſon ſhall receive as a Reward the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds, and be pardon'd of all Crimes and Miſdemeanors committed in relation to the Printing, Publiſhing and Diſperſing the ſaid Libel.*

March 18*th.* Mr. *Steele*'s Hearing came on, and the Concourſe was very great upon this Occaſion. Several Gentlemen who had plac'd themſelves in the Galleries, and the Speaker's Chamber, refuſing to withdraw, were by Order of the Houſe taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

The Order of the Day being read, Mr. *Steele* was asked whether he was the Author of the beforemention'd Pamphlets: He freely own'd, that he wrote and publiſh'd them; after which a Debate aroſe about the Method of Proceeding, and at length Mr. *Steele* was permitted to make his Defence, which he did accordingly, and then withdrew.

Many were the Speeches and Debates on both ſides, the Houſe ſat till paſt 12 at Night, and came at laſt to theſe Reſolutions, 1. *That (*Two of*) the ſaid Pamphlets (*viz. *The* Criſis *and* The Cloſe of the Engliſhman*) were ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, containing many Expreſſions highly reflecting upon her Majeſty, the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Univerſities of this Kingdom, maliciouſly inſinuating, That the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hanover *is in danger under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration,*

niſtration, and tending to alienate the Affections of her Majeſty's good Subjects, and to create Jealouſies and Diviſions among them.

2. *That Mr.* Steele, *for his Offence in Writing and Publiſhing the ſaid ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, be Expelled this Houſe.*

Thus far, Sir, I have given you a ſummary Account of the publick Tranſactions relating to this Affair of Mr. *Steele:* I ſhall add to theſe a very particular Incident, which is known to very few. Mr. *Steele* was not expell'd the Houſe till late in the Night; but the *Examiner*, which was printed off by 12 the ſame foregoing Day, gives an inſulting Account of his Expulſion, which was near 12 Hours before it was actually done. I only inſert this as Matter of Speculation, and ſo leave it to you.

It is and has been remarkable, that if a Stranger were to form his Judgment of Men by the Repreſentations of the Party Writers, he muſt imagine that there were only Fools and Knaves that made any Figure on both ſides. For it is ſufficient now-a-days to make any Man forfeit his Character of Wit and Honeſty, to declare himſelf on either.

Mr. *Steele* is a very eminent Inſtance of this Truth; for till he declar'd himſelf on the Side of what the *EXAMINER* calls the *Ruin'd Party*, he was cry'd up by both Sides as the brighteſt Man that had appear'd in all the politer Arts. His Wit was grown the Standard of Excellence, and his Picture bought up and kept in the Chambers and Cloſets of the Witty and the Gay, as *Ovid*'s was worn on the Fingers of thoſe of the ſame Character in *Rome*. But when he had once appear'd in a Cauſe, which was not lik'd by many, his Wit as well as his Morals was condemn'd, and he ſcarce allow'd Senſe enough to write his Name with any tolerable Correctneſs.

It is not to be doubted but you will wonder how this ſtrange Turn of Fame ſhould happen in ſo ſhort a Time, and I believe you muſt have Curioſity enough to deſire to know the Solidity of the Ground for ſo unaccountable a Change. I ſhall therefore give you a plain and unbiaſs'd Draught of all that Mr. *Steele* has done to merit this Treatment, and then leave it entirely to your Judgment to determine the Juſtice of it.

I ſhall not pretend to give you a Summary of all thoſe particular *Spectators*, *Guar-*

Guardians or *Engliſhmen*, which gave Riſe to this Turn, but ſhall begin with that Book which made his Enemies irreconcileable to him, or his Senſe and Honeſty. And this was a Pamphlet call'd, *The* IMPORTANCE OF DUNKIRK *conſider'd*, *in defence of the* GUARDIAN *of* Auguſt 7. *in a Letter to the* BAILIFF *of* STOCKBRIDGE. In this Pamphlet, after he has given us the *Memorial* of the Sieur *Tugghe* to the Queen, to prevail with her to remit that Part of the Demolition of *Dunkirk* ſtipulated by the Treaty of Peace with the *French* King, and of his Letter to Mr. *Ironſide* in the *Guardian* of *Auguſt* 7. in Anſwer to the forecited Memorial, in which he ſhews, that the *Engliſh* Nation had ſuffer'd more Damage in their Trade from the Port of *Dunkirk*, than from almoſt all the other Ports in *France*; and after he has recited the moſt material Objections againſt him, and what he had advanc'd from a Pamphlet publiſh'd againſt him, call'd, *The Honour and Prerogative of her Majeſty vindicated and defended, againſt the unexampled Impudence of the Author of the* Guardian, *in a Letter from a Country* Whig *to Mr.* Steele, and repeated the as polite Clamours of the *Examiner* againſt him on the ſame account, Mr. *Steele* then proceeds

to

to his Juſtification, by proving the great Damages done by the Port of *Dunkirk* to our Trade, and therefore the Advantages this Nation might reap from its Demolition.

From its Situation firſt, as being plac'd directly in the Way to intercept our Ships from *London*, which carries two Parts in three, or ſix of Nine of the foreign Trade of the whole Kingdom. The Narrowneſs of the Channel between *England* and *Dunkirk* makes all our Ships viſible to them, and we have loſt many even in the *Downs*. And the Eaſterly Wind, that carries our Ships down the *Channel*, brings thoſe of *Dunkirk* to meet and intercept them; all which Dangers would be remov'd by the Demolition of that Port; and ſo Ten Parts in Nine of our Trade from the Port of *London* wou'd be remov'd 330 Miles from the Hazards of the laſt War. And that Hazard would only reach our Southern Trade, whilſt all our Trade to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, and other Northern Countries, would be quite out of danger; the Trade of the Eaſt Coaſt would be ſtill ſafer. He ſhews that the Demolition of *Dunkirk* would in great meaſure ſecure ſeven Ninths of our Trade. To this he adds, that our Charge in defending our

ſelves

ſelves will decreaſe in Proportion to the Removal of the Danger. To this he adds, that the Deſtroying of that Port will not be of great Conſequence, only to the Preſervation of our Trade, but that of our Religion and Liberties; the Pretender having once already been ſent out from that Port to invade us by the Way of *Scotland*. Having demonſtrated theſe Particulars, he comes to a cloſe Anſwer to the Sieur *Tugghe*'s Memorial, and confutes every Particular advanc'd by the *Memorialiſt* beyond a Reply, and to which none yet has pretended to make a plain Anſwer, all endeavouring to divert the Readers from regarding the Strength of Reaſon, by perſonal Abuſes, and very ſcurvy Raillery.

His Anſwer to the Sieur *Tugghe*'s urging the Humanity of ſparing that Port is very well turn'd upon him. " It will (ſays " Mr. *Steele*) be a great Act of Humani- " ty, to inſiſt upon the Demolition of that " Town, which has deſtroy'd *ſo many* " *Thouſands* of her Majeſty's Subjects and " their Ships.

Having thus confuted his foreign Enemy, he addreſſes himſelf with a great deal of Modeſty to clear himſelf of thoſe Imputations laid to him of Ingratitude,

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in insulting the Queen whilst he was eating her Bread; by shewing, that he had thrown up all his Places before he did presume to meddle in these Affairs, tho' in the doing it he always took Care not to say the least thing that could justly be interpreted disrespectful to her Majesty, or unworthy the Zeal of a truly loyal Subject for her Service: And as an excellent Proof of it, shews that no private Man can hurt the Prerogative of the Crown without being punished by Law.

In short, were I to do Mr. *Steele* Justice in this Particular of the Pamphlet of the IMPORTANCE OF *DUNKIRK*, I should be oblig'd to transcribe the whole Book; but since it is to be seen in Print, I refer you to it, with this Remark, that it is not one of those which has afforded the least Occasion to the Censure of the House; and it is to be imagin'd, that such Gentlemen as were so watchful of Sedition, as to find things tending towards it in his other Works, would have omitted this, which had given the Party Scriblers such Provocation, as to make them exert all their Talents of Scandal, Anger, and gross Abuse. So that we may conclude from the Book it self, that it discovers a warm, hearty, and honest Zeal for the Preservation

tion of his Country, and her Majesty's Honour and Glory, which never shines brighter than in her People's Prosperity, Wealth and Safety, to which the Demolition of *Dunkirk* will so much contribute, and which shews her Wisdom, and Motherly Love of the Nation, in her stipulating the Destruction of a Place so detrimental to it.

Thus far, therefore, we find Mr. *Steele*'s Case was good, very good; for the great Assembly's not finding Fault with this is a tacit Approbation of its Contents, which is not to be doubted from so noble a Parliament.

The next Paper was indeed charg'd in the House with an equal Guilt; but by its being left out in the Sentence, it is probable that on the Debate, and thorough Perusal of it, the House did not think that it did deserve their Censure: And this is the ENGLISHMAN from *Saturday*, *Jan.* 16. to *Tuesday*, *Jan.* 19. The Occasion of this Letter of Mr. *Steele*'s to the *Englishman* was to vindicate the House of Commons of *Ireland* from the Abuses of the *Examiner*, who endeavoured to make *Ireland* but a Province to *England*, and therefore to have no Right of Parliament, which he treats in the following Manner;

" By their own indefatigable Industry, by " a thousand Wiles and Stratagems, by " the most subtle Abuses of Liberty, by " Fears and Jealousies, Lying and Calum- " ny, by the most arbitrary Strains of u- " surped Power, and by Rage and Vio- " lence unequal to the Capacities of a sin- " gle Tyrant, the *Irish* Whiggs have got- " ten the better of the Lenity and Indo- " lence of the Government, and have " forced their Way into one Branch of the " Legislature.

These are the Words of the *Examiner*, which provok'd Mr. *Steele* to oppose him, and defend the Honourable the Commons of *Ireland*, in Parliament assembled. The Design therefore and Aim even of this Paper, seems to have been the Effect of a Love and Zeal for our Constitution; and if this Zeal has transported him to say any thing irregular, any thing too harsh for the Times to bear, he seems a little excusable, because the *Examiner* had made so free with that Part of the *Irish* Legislature.

I hope I shall not displease you, nor any one else, in giving you his Test of Men and Opinions, as to our Approbation or Rejection of them. " But let the rest of " the World do what they please, and de-

" fer

" fer their Proteſtations againſt theſe E-
" vils as long as they think fit, I will
" poſtpone all elſe that is dear to me to
" the Love of my Country; and as this
" is, and I truſt in Providence will be,
" my ſtrongeſt Paſſion to my Life's End;
" I will whilſt it is yet Day, profeſs and
" publiſh the Rules by which I govern
" my Judgment of Men and Things in
" the preſent Conjuncture.

" Does this Action beſpeak ſuch a one
" a wiſe Man if he is for the *Pretender*,
" or a mad Man if he is for the Houſe of
" *Hanover*?

" Does this Poſition open a Way to
" the *Pretender*? Or does it further ſecure
" the Proteſtant Succeſſion?

" Theſe are my Queſtions, which I
" make the Teſt of Men and Opinions;
" and if a Man does a Thing that may
" advance the Intereſt or Power of the
" *Pretender* and his Friends, and can no
" way do Good to the Houſe of *Hanover*,
" he may ſwear to his laſt Breath, that
" he is for that Houſe, before he ſhall
" make me believe him.

Thus far we are upon ſafe Grounds; ſince none of this has fallen under the Cenſure of the Houſe; and I believe you will agree with me, that he ſeems to act

with the true Spirit of an *Engliſhman*, zealous for the Good, Safety and Honour, of his Prince and his Country; for the Security of our Trade, and of our Religion, Laws and Property, is the proper Object of a PATRIOT's Zeal. But if this Zeal ſhould, with an honeſt Warmth, have tranſported him to ſome Expreſſions in what is to come, which have drawn down the Cenſure of the Honourable Houſe of Commons upon him, we may be allow'd to pity him, without oppoſing or finding Fault with that Cenſure. Hiſtory has given us Examples of very Great Men, and thoſe hearty in the Cauſe of the Commonwealth, who have notwithſtanding fallen under the Frowns of the People. The good *Camillus* is of this Number, who was driven into Baniſhment by his Country, which he had ſo well fought for and defended; and which he afterwards delivered from the *Gauls*, when he was yet in his Exile. *Scipio*, after all his Conqueſts, and glorious Exploits for the Commonwealth, fell into Diſgrace. The *Gracchi* were extinguiſh'd in their Zeal for the Agrarian Law, which only could keep the Balance of Power equal between the Nobility and People. *Themiſtocles* after all his Succeſs was driven from *Athens* by O-

ſtraciſm,

ſtraciſm, that is, the Sentence of the People; and yet all theſe, who without doubt met with nothing but Juſtice from the *Romans* and *Athenians*, as the incomparable *Sydney* has ſufficiently made out, have in all Ages been thought good Patriots, and honeſt Men.

There are certain Circumſtances of Things, certain Emergencies of State, and ſome particular Turns of Affairs, which alter the Face of Actions and Words, and often give a criminal Countenance to them, which at other Times, Seaſons, and Junctures, would have appear'd much more agreeable and lovely.

For my part, I can never imagine, that any auguſt Body of Men, compos'd of the moſt able and ſubſtantial of the People: plac'd by their Fortunes above the Bribes of Intereſt, Power, or Ambition, can ever ſacrifice their Honour, Conſcience, and the Good of their Country, to any ſiniſter Aims, or for the Gratification of any one Man or Body of Men in Power. For if Men of Eſtates can be influenced by any of theſe Conſiderations, how can a People be more ſafe in their Hands than in thoſe of Perſons of precarious Fortunes, and who may hope from their Deſertion of their Honour and their Country's Cauſe

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an immediate Benefit to themſelves and their Families?

It is not therefore reaſonable to imagine that a Houſe of Commons ſo eminent as this could want juſt Motives for the Cenſure they laid upon the following Writings of this Gentleman. And this being my Opinion, it cannot be ſuppos'd that I have any Deſign of finding Fault with, or of leſſening the Juſtice of their Cenſure, in this Particular. But ſince I have not yet been able to come at the Knowledge of the real Paragraphs and Expreſſions which are cenſur'd by them, I hope you will be ſo juſt to my Intentions, as not to ſuppoſe that I ſhall any where endeavour to extenuate or leſſen their Guilt. I ſhall only give you the plain Heads as I find them in his Books, not doubting but that you will ſhew as great an Abhorrence of what may be ſeditious and ſcandalous as my ſelf.

By the Votes fixing the Cenſure on particular Expreſſions and Paragraphs, I perſuade my ſelf that it cannot fairly be tended to the whole Book: and the rather, becauſe great part of the CRISIS is only a ranging in Order ſeveral Acts of Parliament, by which the *Liberties* and *Rights* of the *Britiſh People*, and the *Proteſtant*

teſtant Succeſſion in the Illuſtrious Houſe of HANOVER, are eſtabliſh'd: And therefore it would be a villanous Reflection on the Houſe of Commons to ſtretch their Condemnation to them. Nor can it be wreſted to any thing that may be found in either of the following Papers againſt thoſe Doctrines, which have been reviv'd by the *Jacobite Rehearſal*, and carried on by too many of the Clergy; and which, as they were the Occaſion of the Revolution, ſo are they directly againſt it: Becauſe thoſe Doctrines in *Sacheverell* were condemn'd by the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords, and ſo remain to this Day. And they muſt be malicious Enemies to the Houſe of Commons, who would make any ſuch black Inſinuations; eſpecially ſince the preſent Lord Chancellor of *Great Britain* has aſſur'd us, before the Queen, Lords and Commons, of the Lawfulneſs of the *Revolution* under the Notion of Reſiſtance; and aſſerted before the moſt Solemn and Auguſt Aſſembly of *Europe*, that there are extraordinary Caſes, Caſes of *Neceſſity*, which are imply'd, tho' not expreſs'd in the general Rule. And he at the ſame time declar'd, that ſuch a Caſe undoubtedly the *Revolution* was, when our late unhappy Soveraign

then upon the Throne, misled by evil Counsellors, endeavour'd to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

Now Mr. *Steele* had observ'd, that notwithstanding the Revolution, and the Settlement of the Crown on the Protestant Heir in the House of *Hanover*, exclusive of near thirty of the Popish Line, who by Hereditary Right must succeed to the Throne of these Nations before her: That there was printed and dispersed weekly a Pamphlet for the Indefeasibility of the Right of Succession, and which once more trump'd up the fantastical System of *Filmer*'s Patriarchal Government; all destructive of our Acts of Parliament, Claim of Right, *&c.* and opening the Way to the PRETENDER. He observ'd farther, that there had been publish'd more than twenty Pamphlets expresly against the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, with Impunity; and found that common Conversation threw every Day in his Way, and in that of every Man of any general Conversation, Men that openly abus'd the Memory of our Deliverer, and condemn'd and ridicul'd the Revolution it self; nay saw the same done in Print by *Lesley*, where he exposes it by

by way of Loſs and Gain, placing on one Side the many Millions it has coſt us, and the many Lives that have been loſt to ſupport the Bleſſings it gave us, and this done by Men in holy Orders, and countenanc'd and read, nay and ſubſcrib'd for by too many of the Clergy, who had not only taken Oaths to the Powers eſtabliſh'd by it, but abjur'd all others. Mr. *Steele*, I ſay, having ſeen, heard, obſerv'd, and conſider'd all theſe things, was juſtly alarm'd at the Conduct of theſe People, againſt which he aim'd his *Criſis*; and therefore addreſſes this Book to the *Clergy* of the *Church of England*, to lay before them and put them in mind of thoſe Legal Authorities, againſt which ſuch Members of their Body acted, when they fell in with thoſe *Jacobite* Notions.

Mr. *Steele*, with all the modeſt and Chriſtian Deference to their Sacred Character (which he aſſures them from his Youth upwards he always rever'd) addreſſes to them to ſpread this true Notion of our preſent Conſtitution, to prevent our falling into *Popery* and *Slavery*, the natural Reſult of the contrary Principles. And he recommends this Province to their Care, becauſe the juſt Influence they have

on their Congregations, qualifies them moſt for the ſetting the People right in this important Article.

'Tis true he does inſinuate that ſome few of their Body has acted directly contrary to their Duty in this. But is not this as notorious as the Sun at Noon? Has not *Sacheverell* been condemn'd for it? Have we not the Sermons of the *Milbourns* and others in Print to prove this? But then with how much Mildneſs does he qualify this Tranſgreſſion, by ſaying, "That theſe Suggeſtions have been fa-"vour'd by ſome *few unwary* Men in "holy Orders, who have made the Con-"ſtitution of their own Country a very "little Part of their Study; and yet made "*Obedience* and *Government* the frequent "Subjects of their Diſcourſes.

The late Moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *York*, in his Sermon before the Houſe of Lords on the 30*th* of *January*, aſſerts the ſame, and lays down ſurer and more juſt Rules of the Clergy's teaching of Obedience, and meddling with Government in the Pulpit.

Mr. *Steele* farther wiſhes in this Epiſtle to the Clergy, that the Laws he is about to repeat had been ſet in a clear Light, and

and carefully recommended to the Perusal of the young Gentlemen in Colleges, with a Preference to all other civil Institutions whatever. For then this Kingdom (as he says) had not been in its present Condition; but the Constitution would have had, in every Member the Universities have sent into the World ever since the Revolution, an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.

But certainly Mr. *Steele* must here be in the wrong, since without doubt our Protestant Universities have taken that Care, in instructing their Pupils in that manner; and if any of them, when they came in the World said or did any thing contrary to these good Instructions, it ought to be attributed to their After-Corruption, and not to their Education. For it would be to reflect on the Universities, to speak otherwise. I confess I am something ignorant in these Particulars, and am not acquainted with the present Method of Education there; but I am of opinion, that such Learned Bodies cannot be in the wrong, or if they are, that we had better let them alone, unless we could reform them. For to find fault with a Man in Power, is not the Way to reform, but provoke him. It is true, I

have been lately in Company with a young Fellow of a College, who has rail'd at the Revolution; but I was never ſo audacious to think, that he learn'd thoſe Maxims at the Univerſity; but here in *London*, where without doubt they may fall into ill Company, and be corrupted. They come up here for a Relaxation from Study, may happen to fall into Acquaintance with the Ladies, and there are a ſort of them very zealous againſt the Revolution, and for the *Pretender*; and who knows but a Complaiſance for the Fair Sex (ſo becoming a Man of fine Parts and good Breeding) might pervert their Judgments; and it would be very hard to lay this to an Univerſity Education.

In this Article therefore I believe you will with me diſſent from Mr. *Steele*; but I thought my ſelf obliged to put it down, as ſeeming a very eſſential Part of his Caſe.

He goes on to conjure the Clergy by their Oaths to ſupport the Laws he is going to repeat, and their Abjuration of the *Pretender*, in which he will allow no mental Reſervation, Equivocation, or any manner of Eſcapes, by which temporary Caſuiſts might hope to elude the

Force

Force of those solemn Obligations. " This " I am sure of (says he) that if the Body " of the Clergy, who considerately and " voluntarily enter'd into these Engage- " ments, should be made use of as Instru- " ments and Examples to make the Na- " tion break through them, not only the " Succession of the Crown, but the very " Essence of our Religion is in danger. " What a Triumph would it furnish to " those evil Men among us, who are Ene- " mies to your Sacred Order? What Oc- " casion would it administer to Atheists " and Unbelievers, to say that Christia- " nity is nothing else but an outward " Shew and Pretence among the most " knowing of its Professors? What cou'd " we afterwards object to Jesuits, &c.

But lest this should seem to proceed from any Fear of such a Disposition in the Clergy, or to insinuate that there was many such, he assures them the contrary, and that he only puts them in mind how their own Honour and the Interest of Religion is concern'd.

He farther shews them, that under Pretence of Zeal towards them, Men may carry on Designs destructive to the Nation, their Interest, and Religion it self. And that it is therefore their Duty to con-

consider, whether the Cry of the Church's Danger may not become a Truth ; and as you are Men of Sense and Honour (says Mr. *Steele*) to exert your selves in the undeceiving the Multitude, whenever their affectionate Concern for you may prove fatal to themselves.

In short (to come to an End of this Epistle) he tells them, that it will be an Action worthy of the Ministers of the Church of *England*, to distinguish themselves for the Love of their Country, of our Laws, Liberties, Prerogative of the Crown, *&c.* " And as there are no In-
" struments under Heaven (concludes he)
" so capable of this great Work (the fix-
" ing the People in the true Interest of
" their Country and Religion) that God
" would make you such to this divided
" Nation, is the hearty Prayer of, *&c.*

The Preface is of the Necessity of Government in general, the Excellence of our mixt Government, the Misery of despotick Power, and the Lawfulness of a necessary Resistance ; the concluding Proof of which is the forequoted Opinion of the present Lord Chancellor of *Great Britain*.

He begins the *Crisis* with the Value of Liberty, that is, of living under our own Laws

Laws made by our own Conſent, and not under the Arbitrary Power of one Man's Will. He ſhews that our Anceſtors have ſtriven for this Liberty, this Bleſſing, at the Expence of more Blood and Treaſure than any other Bleſſing could deſerve, and yet little enough for this. He ſhews that we have of late diſcover'd a greater Supinity in Regard of this Particular than any of our Predeceſſors, and ſeem to have given up our Cauſe as not tenable. To revive our ancient Love of Liberty, and Zeal for our Rights and Laws, he laid down the Laws themſelves, to ſhew what Right we have to the Benefit of them.

He begins with an Act of Parliament made in the 2d Seſſion of the 1ſt Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which contains our Claim of Rights, and the Incapacity of a Papiſt's Reigning in this Land. To this he ſubjoins the *Scots* Act of Settlement on the Revolution; from both which he would let us ſee the Senſe the two Nations had then of our Deliverance and Deliverer, when they had juſt felt the Gripe of Popery and arbitrary Power; which are now too much forgot.

The

The Death of Queen *Mary* and the Duke of *Glocester*, made the Nation take Care to prevent the Pretenſions of the ſeveral Popiſh Claimants of this Crown, on the Demiſe of King *William*, and our preſent Sovereign Lady Queen *Anne*; and by ſettling the Succeſſion of the Throne in the Proteſtant Houſe of *Hanover*, ſecure us againſt the Return of Popery and Arbitrary Power, by an Act made in the 12th and 13th Year of the late King *William*, the Subſtance of which Mr. *Steele* recites, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and an other Act for the farther Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line; for extinguiſhing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other Pretenders, and their ſecret and open Abettors; which compleated the great Work of Deliverance of theſe Nations from Popery and Slavery, in ſecuring our Poſterity as well as our ſelves from theſe Evils.

After this he gives the Subſtance of ſome, and the Whole of other Acts of Parliament in her preſent Majeſty's Reign, dire-

directed to the same End, the Securing the Succession in the Protestant Line of the House of *Hanover*; and then shews it irrecoverably fix'd in the Act of *Union* of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and other subsequent Acts of the united Kingdoms to the same purpose. He then proceeds to state the Right the People and Government of *Britain* had to settle their Crown to the best Advantage, and for the Security of their Laws and Religion.

He then gives us a View of our glorious Successes under the Duke of *Marlborough*, which are all Confirmations of our Security by the Reduction of the exorbitant Power of *France*, which could only be dangerous to us; and then after a Refutation of the Calumnies of the Duke's Enemies, he comes to the Articles of Peace, one of the most important of which he makes the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. He farther gives a View of the State of the Affairs of the Empire, and the rest of *Europe*, and insinuates some Doubts of the *French* King's Intentions of demolishing the Mole and Harbour of *Dunkirk*. And after some Reflections on the Disaffected,

he comes to the *Pretender*'s Converſion to the Proteſtant Religion, and the little Dependance there is to be laid upon it by the Example of the Duke of *York*, *&c.* He touches on the Maſſacre of *Ireland*, and that of *Paris*, as Inſtances of what we ought to expect from a Popiſh Prince, whether the *Pretender* or any other Claimant of that Religion.

He concludes, that we are guarded againſt all theſe Dangers by our Laws, and Acts of Settlement; and that the breaking through thoſe only can render us miſerable as well as irreligious.

There remains only to ſpeak of the Cloſe of the *Engliſhman*; but the ſame Topicks for the moſt Part recurring, you may ſuppoſe that it is written with the ſame Spirit and Brow; that is, all of it but what is cenſur'd by the Houſe of Commons, with a true and honeſt Zeal for the Happineſs and Safety of the *Britiſh* Nation, and the Honour of her Majeſty, which indeed is entirely built upon that.

If

If there ſhould happen any new Occurrence of this Nature, in relation to this Affair, you ſhall be ſure to have a true and impartial Account of it, from,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant.

LONDON,

March 20. $17\frac{13}{14}$.